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ABSTRACT

This newsletter's central item is an essay on teaching as a profession and its condition in the midst of current trends and historical movements. It discusses teacher education, recent reform efforts to incorporate new understandings of teaching and learning in programs for prospective teachers, establishment of professional development schools, and other efforts that work from new ideas on the nature of teaching and the teacher's role. A discussion of school reform argues that regulations do not transform schools, but rather teachers in collaboration with administrators and parents do. A final section reviews policies to professionalize teaching by developing more rigorous preparation, licensing, and selection practice, and more effective professional development in exchange for fewer rules prescribing what is to be taught, when, and how. This section notes that professionalizing teaching may call for rethinking school structures and roles and reallocating educational dollars. A short article describes a teacher recruitment campaign, "Recruiting New Teachers, Inc." and their efforts through mass media that have attracted a well-educated and diverse slice of the population to teaching. A sidebar describes the work of the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future. (Includes an annotated NCREST publications list on authentic assessment and accountability, and restructuring; reprints series; and publications contributed to NCREST.) (JB)

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THE CONDITION OF TEACHING IN AMERICA TODAY

RESOURCES FOR RESTRUCTURING
NCREST SUMMER 1995

by

Linda Darling-Hammond

National Center for Restructuring
Education, Schools, and Teaching

Box 110, Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, NY 10027

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RESOURCES FOR RESTRUCTURING

NCREST
NATIONAL CENTER FOR RESTRUCTURING EDUCATION, SCHOOLS, AND TEACHING

SUMMER 1995

THE CONDITION OF TEACHING IN AMERICA TODAY

Linda Darling-Hammond

WANTED

College graduate with academic major (master's degree preferred). Excellent communication and leadership skills required. Challenging opportunity to serve 150 clients daily on a tight schedule, developing up to five different products each day to meet individual needs, while also adhering to multiple product specifications. This diversified position allows employee to exercise typing, clerical, law enforcement, and social work skills between assignments and after hours. Adaptability helpful, since suppliers cannot always deliver goods and support services on time. Must be able to work alone without consulting other colleagues. Typical work week 47 hours. Special nature of the work precludes fringe benefits such as access to a telephone or computer, but work has many intrinsic rewards. Starting salary $19,100 with the possibility of earning $29,000 after only 15 years.

This want ad accurately characterizes the typical secondary school teaching position in the United States in 1991. It describes an occupation structured to process large groups of students through factory-model schools — an occupation that has, over much of this century, sought to employ relatively low-paid entrants and manage their work bureaucratically, with many prescriptions for practice, few investments in teachers' learning, and little opportunity for them to engage in decisions or work collaboratively with one another.

Current education reforms challenge these aspects of contemporary schools, which were designed nearly a century ago when the advent of the manufacturing era transformed the rural one-room schoolhouse into the urban school bureaucracies we now have. For more than a decade, states and districts have been involved in concerted efforts to raise standards for student learning, improve teaching, transform school structures so that they better support student success, and decentralize decision making in order to address problems more effectively at the school site.

New Demands on Schooling

These reforms are motivated by major changes in society and the economy that make it clear that individuals who do not succeed at school cannot survive in an increasingly technological economy, and societies that do not succeed at education cannot survive in the global marketplace. Whereas in 1900 about half the nation's jobs required low or unskilled labor, today fewer than 10% do. More than half of the new jobs created in this decade will require postsecondary education, and 90% will require at least a high school education (Hudson Institute, 1987).

There is little room in today's society for those who cannot manage complexity, find and use resources, and continually learn new technologies, approaches, and occupations. In contrast to low-skilled work on assembly lines, which was designed from above and implemented through routine procedures, work sites increasingly require employees to design their own tasks, plan and evaluate outcomes, and solve problems in teams. Restructured businesses and industry demand better educated, more thoughtful workers for virtually all kinds of jobs (Drucker, 1986). A more complex society also requires citizens who can understand difficult problems and manage ever more complicated social systems.

Consequently, schools are being asked to prepare all students, rather than only a small minority, for "thinking work," and teachers are being asked not just to "cover

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the curriculum" but to teach in ways that ensure that all students will learn. Teaching diverse learners to perform in these more challenging ways requires changes that cannot be "teacher-proofed" through new textbooks, curriculum mandates, or tests. As state after state has sought to re-create schools so that they can meet 21st century demands, it has become apparent that their success depends fundamentally on teachers: *What teachers know and can do is the most important influence on what students can learn.*

Teacher Education

Over the past decade, many schools of education have made great strides in incorporating new understandings of teaching and learning in their programs for prospective teachers. More than 100 have created professional development schools that, like teaching hospitals in medicine, provide new recruits with intensively supervised internships linked to their coursework (Darling-Hammond, 1994). Most of these are engaged in the simultaneous restructuring of schools and teacher education programs, aiming to transform both so that they focus on student understanding and learner-centered practices.

These efforts to upgrade teacher preparation contrast with earlier assumptions about teaching: that teachers needed only to master basic routines with cookbook rules to guide them, acting as recipients of packaged knowledge rather than the generators of knowledge. This view is beginning to give way in the face of current understanding that students are not standardized and the tasks of effective teaching are not routine. While the function of teacher preparation is increasingly seen as empowering teachers to own, use, and develop sophisticated knowledge about teaching and learning, a great many systemic changes are needed for this view to become widespread.

While a growing number of teachers are prepared in rigorous courses of study including intensive internships (increasingly these are five- or occasionally six-year programs), the majority are still prepared in underfunded undergraduate programs. Because professional accreditation is not required in most states, the quality of programs in the more than 1200 institutions that now prepare teachers ranges from excellent to poor.

Newly launched alternative certification programs include some that provide only a few weeks of training for entering teachers, skipping such fundamentals as learning theory, child development, and subject matter pedagogy and placing recruits in classrooms without previous supervised clinical experience. And over 10 percent of individuals enter on emergency and temporary certificates, without any preparation at all. Studies show that these teachers are less able to address students' needs and less effective in helping students learn.

In addition to a general lack of support for beginning teacher preparation, school districts spend less than one half of 1% of their resources on staff development, as compared to 8 to 10% of expenditures in most corporations and comparable proportions in other countries' schools. District staff development is still characterized by one-shot workshops that have very little effect on practice, rather than more effective, problem-based approaches to teacher learning that

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Resources for Restructuring is published by NCREST (the National Center for Restructuring Education, Schools, and Teaching) and the NYC Center for School Reform.

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Affiliates in Action: *Recruiting New Teachers, Inc.*

Why do people teach? "It's the sparks," explains Irasema (Ira) Ortega-Crawford, a biology teacher in Mesa, Arizona, who decided to become a teacher in part because of a campaign waged by **Recruiting New Teachers, Inc.** (RNT). A non-profit organization founded in 1986, RNT has helped to attract literally thousands of candidates like Ira to teaching careers.

Portraying the profession as one of power and influence, RNT's award-winning public service advertising campaigns, "Reach for the Power: Teach!" and "Be a Teacher. Be a Hero," have encouraged nearly one million people to request more information about teaching. And it has attracted an especially well-educated and diverse slice of the U.S. population.

Ira always had a passion for teaching: "In the schools of my native Venezuela, I had excellent teachers.... Then I moved to the U.S., and all I heard was, 'Those who can't, teach,' and 'But, Ira, you can do better than that.' So I went to work at a university research lab..... One night after a dreadful, boring day at work, I was watching TV and saw an ad flash on the screen.... 'Reach for the power to wake up young minds. Teach.'... From that moment on I knew what to do."

Interested candidates call RNT's toll-free number and receive the *Careers in Teaching Handbook*, a resource guide on training, certification, and career opportunities. They are also asked to provide academic and personal information for a database maintained by RNT and shared with a network of 400 "Recruitment Partners" (colleges and universities, school districts, governors, state agencies, and teacher training institutes). As a result of RNT's program, at least 40,000 candidates, including 10,000 people of color, have become teachers.

Why is RNT's mission so important? For one thing, experts agree that a shortage of teachers is not far off. In 1986, the Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession in its landmark study, *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century*, commented, "Decisions made in the next few years will have a striking impact on the composition of our teaching force for years to come, for better or worse. If the opportunity is seized now, the quality of our schools can be more quickly improved than at any time in the memory of most citizens."

Because America's school-age population is increasingly multiethnic, RNT has joined the effort to help persons of color begin successful careers in teaching. In a joint program with the Council of Great City Schools and Council of Great City Colleges of Education, RNT's Urban Teacher Collaborative aims to recruit prospective teachers, particularly persons of color, to help fill the chronic shortages of teachers in many inner-city neighborhoods.

Through RNT, the Collaborative has also begun to assist pre-college recruitment initiatives and build "career corridors" for urban teachers, a network of support that stretches from pre-service education through the first year of teaching and beyond.

In 1992, the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund commissioned RNT to take a close look at the increasing number of "grow your own teacher" pre-college recruitment programs, resulting in the report, *Teaching's Next Generation: A National Study of Precollegiate Teacher Recruitment*. With additional support from DeWitt Wallace, in 1995 RNT established the National Center for Precollegiate Teacher Recruitment to provide technical assistance and connect existing programs.

David Haselkorn, RNT's president, recognizes that collectively these programs embody the spirit of "a new kind of progressivism that is emerging today." For example:

- The Future Teachers program in Los Angeles offers both a teacher preparation focus and a rigorous college prep experience.

- In the Pennsylvania Governor's School for Excellence in Teaching, students provide after-school activities for children in homeless shelters or AIDS awareness workshops with the local Red Cross.

- The Paradise (CA) Teaching Academy grounds students in learning theory and "the real issues of the profession" before they teach in local elementary schools.

Ira sums up the point of all this: "How do I feel at the end of each day? I feel proud of my students. I feel more knowledgeable about living, teaching, and learning. I feel lucky to be a teacher. I feel . . . full of sparks."

For more information, contact ***Recruiting New Teachers, Inc.****, 385 Concord Avenue, Suite 100, Belmont, MA 02178. 617-489-6000. Fax: 617-489-6005.* Δ

Julie Greene

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are built into teachers' ongoing work with their colleagues. As a result, many U.S. teachers enter the profession with inadequate preparation, and most have very few opportunities to enhance their knowledge and skills over the course of their careers.

The Bureaucratic Model

The lack of investment in teacher knowledge is a function of the factory model approach to schooling adopted nearly a century ago, which invested (both in businesses and in "modern" school systems) in an administrative bureaucracy to design, monitor, and inspect work rather than in the knowledge of the people doing the work. In this view, teachers do not plan or evaluate their own teaching; instead, they make decisions based on rules and uniform procedures — texts, curriculum guides, tests, grading and promotion policies — developed and handed down by others.

In addition, teachers' working conditions still reflect a conception of teaching as consisting primarily of instructing large groups of students, in isolation from colleagues, for most of the day. Almost everything else a teacher does is considered "released time" or "homework." Time for preparation, planning, working with colleagues, meeting individually with students or parents, or working on the development of curriculum or assessment measures is rarely available and considered not part of the teacher's main job. With the exception of most teachers' daily "prep period," often spent filling out forms and standing in line for the telephone or photocopy machine, teachers have virtually no planned time to consult with their colleagues on problems of practice.

International Comparisons

Despite a shorter school year — U.S. teachers work an average of 185 days per year (National Education Association [NEA], 1992) — no other nation requires teachers to teach more hours per week than the U.S. Japanese, Chinese, and most European teachers have substantial time for preparation, curriculum development, and one-on-one work with students, parents, or colleagues, generally teaching large groups of students only about 15 to 20 hours out of a 40 to 45 hour work week (Nelson and O'Brien, 1993; Darling-Hammond, 1990). These nations assume that teachers must continually learn and consult with each other to make instructional decisions, rather than stamping students with formulaic lessons as they pass by on a conveyor belt.

By contrast, most U.S. elementary teachers have three or fewer hours for preparation per week (only 8.3 minutes for every hour in the classroom), while secondary teachers generally have five preparation periods per week (13 minutes per hour of classroom instruction). Between 5 and 10% of teachers have no preparation time at school at all (NEA, 1992). Of course, most teachers are accustomed to working long hours outside of school. On average, teachers work on teaching-related tasks an additional 10 to 15 hours per week outside of school hours.

In most schools, teachers are not expected to meet jointly with other teachers, to develop curriculum or assessments, to observe or discuss each other's classes, nor is time generally provided for these kinds of activities. Not surprisingly, in 1988, fewer than 10% of public school teachers said they were highly satisfied with the extent and quality of opportunities to collaborate with colleagues (Choy, Bobbitt, Henke, Medrich, Horn, and Lieberman, 1993).

Reallocating Resources

Will more time for collegial work and professional development ever be financially plausible in U.S. schools? How can other countries afford such a "luxurious" schedule for teachers while spending virtually the same amount per pupil on education overall? While exactly comparable data are difficult to obtain, data on staffing patterns from many different sources all seem to suggest that U.S. schools have invested in a relatively smaller number of lower-paid teachers directed and augmented by larger numbers of inspectors, administrators, and other supervisory staff populating several layers of bureaucratic structures.

From 1950 to 1980, the number of administrative staff grew at more than twice the rate of the number of teachers in American schools. The U.S. Department of Labor reported that in 1986 school systems employed approximately one administrative staff person for every two-and-one-half teachers (U.S. Department of Labor, 1986). By 1991, the proportion of public school staff who are classroom teachers had declined to only 53% from over 70% in 1950 (National Center for Education Statistics, 1993).

Other countries, meanwhile, have allocated education funds primarily to better-paid, better-educated teachers, who comprise virtually all of the employees in

schools and who make most of the teaching decisions. So, for example, while fewer than half of all public education employees in the U.S. are teachers, teaching staff comprise more than three-fourths of all public education employees in Australia and Japan, and more than 80% in Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1992). These countries invest more of their resources in supporting the work of "front line workers" in schools than in trying to inspect, monitor, and control that work.

New Paradigm for School Reform

Regulations do not transform schools; only teachers, in collaboration with administrators and parents, can do that. Thus, strategic investment in the recruitment, preparation, induction, and ongoing learning of teachers is a key strategy for school reform. The attempts presently under way across the country still tend to be embryonic and are scattered rather than systemic, but the possibilities for rethinking how schools structure the use of teacher time, the opportunities for team teaching and collaboration, the development of teacher and school networks, and the responsibilities of teachers are probably greater now than they have ever been.

A companion press to rethink teacher preparation, to create school-university partnerships, and to develop collaborative arrangements with business and industry has opened up an array of options for teacher professional development. These initiatives have created an assortment of activities and commitments that are promising, and could become powerful if coordinated around a common vision and agenda for strengthening teaching.

This agenda is central to broader school reforms. Indeed, all of the problems cited by educational critics are constrained in their solution by the availability of knowledgeable and skillful teachers, and by the school conditions that define how that knowledge can be used.

Raising graduation requirements in mathematics, science, and foreign language, for example, is of little use if there are not enough teachers prepared to teach those subjects well. Exhortations for improvement in students' higher-order thinking abilities can accomplish little without able teach-

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National Commission on Teaching and America's Future

The National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Corporation of New York and housed at Teachers College, Columbia University, is a blue-ribbon group of 26 public officials, business and community leaders, and educators who are broadly knowledgeable about education, school reform, and teaching. The Commission is chaired by Governor James B. Hunt, Jr., of North Carolina and directed by Linda Darling-Hammond, professor at Teachers College and co-director of NCREST.

The work of the Commission will culminate in publication of a major report in 1996. Leading up to that, over the next 18 months, the Commission will:

- Articulate the case for teacher development as a key strategy for improving and transforming schools;
- Recommend approaches to teacher recruitment, preparation, induction, and professional renewal that will meet the requirements of 21st-century schools and that reflect the best thinking about approaches to teacher development;
- Develop a policy agenda that connects current initiatives in the profession, including reforms in teacher education, licensing, certification, and accreditation, with local, state, and federal policy initiatives for school improvement and restructuring;
- Launch a mobilization and public outreach strategy to engage key decision makers and constituencies on behalf of a well-articulated teacher development agenda.

As reform momentum grows, the demands on teachers for helping diverse learners attain more challenging learning goals will increase. In addition, over the next decade the nation will need to hire as many as two million new teachers as rising student enrollments and growing teacher retirements combine to heighten demand for new teachers, particularly in our urban schools. Together these circumstances provide an unparalleled challenge and opportunity for the nation to shape a teaching profession prepared to teach for the 21st century. The National Commission on Teaching and America's Future will provide an action agenda for meeting America's educational challenge by connecting the quest for higher student achievement with the need for knowledgeable and skillful teachers working in schools that are structured for success. Δ

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ers who know how to engender such thinking and who teach in an environment that supports rather than undermines this kind of learning. Concerns about "at-risk" children — those who drop out, tune out, and fall behind — cannot be addressed without teachers who are well prepared to understand and meet the diverse needs of students who come to school with varying learning styles, family situations, and beliefs about themselves and about what school means for them.

Policies to Professionalize Teaching

In policy terms, strengthening teaching suggests developing more rigorous preparation, licensing, and selection practices, and more effective professional development in exchange for fewer rules prescribing what is to be taught, when, and how. Such steps are more likely to improve the quality of education and the level of knowledge in the profession as a whole by promoting continual improvement, as "effectiveness" rather than "compliance" becomes the standard for judging practice.

Coupled with strategies to ensure an adequate supply of well-prepared teachers, and schools that are organized to use their talents well, reforms of teaching pose an alternate paradigm to the factory model. They emphasize strategies that build knowledge and capacity within the ranks of teachers and schools, betting on people rather than on bureaucratic systems. They seek forms of accountability that will focus attention on "doing the right things" rather than "doing things right."

Professionalizing teaching may call for rethinking school structures and roles, and reallocating educational dollars. If teachers assume many of the instructional tasks currently performed by administrative staff (e.g. curriculum development and supervision), the layers of bureaucratic hierarchy will be reduced.

If teachers are more carefully selected and better trained and supported, expenditures for management systems to control incompetence will be less necessary. If investments are made in the beginning of the teaching career for adequate preparation, induction support, and pre-tenure evaluation, the costs of continually recruiting and hiring new entrants to replace the 30 to 50% who leave in the first few years will decline; the costs of band-aid approaches to staff development for those who have not learned to teach effectively will be reduced; and the costs of remediating or seeking to dismiss poor teachers — as well as compensating for the effects of their poor teaching on children — will decrease. Strategic investment in teacher competence should free up resources for innovation and learning.

Current efforts at school reform are likely to succeed to the extent that they are built on a strong foundation of teaching knowledge and are sustained by a commitment to structural rather than merely symbolic change. Major changes in the productivity of American schools are likely to rest on our ability to create and sustain a highly-prepared teaching force for all, not just some, of our children.

This paper is excerpted from a longer briefing paper, written for the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, entitled ***The Current Status of Teaching and Teacher Development in the United States****. For copies of that paper or information, contact the Commission at 212-678-3204.*

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BULLETIN BOARD

Publications

A License to Teach: Building a Profession for 21st-Century Schools, by Linda Darling-Hammond, Arthur E. Wise, and Stephen P. Klein, presents a new vision for preparing teachers for America's public schools. Order from *Westview Press*, 5500 Central Avenue, Boulder, CO 80301-2877. 303-444-3541. Fax: 303-449-3356. $19.95 for paperback, $49.95 hardcover, plus $3.00 shipping and handling.

Authentic Assessment in Action: Studies of Schools and Students at Work, by Linda Darling-Hammond, Jacqueline Ancess, and Beverly Falk and just published by *Teachers College Press*, presents case studies of five elementary and secondary schools that have developed "authentic," performance-based assessments of student learnings. Order from NCREST. $24.95 prepaid.

From the *Center for School Change* comes a new publication, **Deserved, Defensible Diplomas: Lessons from High Schools with Competency-Based Graduation Requirements**, by Joe Nathan, Jennifer Power, and Maureen Bruce. It summarizes the experiences of 29 high schools throughout the country that are moving toward, or have in place, a system of graduation based on the demonstration of skills and knowledge rather than credits and grades. Order from the Center for School Change, Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, 301 19th Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55455. 612-626-1834. $9.

Teaching and Change, a new journal published by the *National Educational Association Professional Library* and *Corwin Press, Inc.*, will report the experiences of classroom teachers as they learn how schools must change to make good practice possible. Articles written by teachers are welcomed! For further information, contact Karen Zauber, Editor, *Teaching and Change*, National Education Association, 1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. 202-822-7785. Fax: 202-822-7987. Subscriptions are $30/year for individuals; $75/year for organizations.

The Work of Restructuring Schools: Building from the Ground Up, edited by Ann Lieberman, has just been published by *Teachers College Press*. This collection of compelling case studies of six elementary schools in Louisville (Kentucky), rural western Maine, Hammond (Indiana), Columbia (South Carolina), and Live Oak County (Florida), brings these restructuring schools to life, illuminating their struggles, providing glimpses of hard-won success, and underscoring the politics of change. Contributors include Betty Lou Whitford, Rodman B. Webb, and Linda Darling-Hammond. Order from NCREST. $18.95 prepaid.

Rethinking Our Classrooms: Teaching for Equity and Justice is a new magazine-style book just released by *Rethinking Schools*, an independent quarterly journal written by teachers, parents, and activists. The book is a collection of teaching ideas, narratives, and hands-on examples of ways to promote community in the classroom while building academic skills. Contact *Rethinking Schools*, 1001 E. Keefe Avenue, Milwaukee, WI 53212. 414-964-9646. Fax: 414-964-7220. Free with a subscription to *Rethinking Schools* ($20/2 years or $9.50/year) or $6 plus $3.50 shipping and handling.

Expecting the Best from Students in Urban Middle Schools, published by *Education Resources Group*, tells how 12 urban middle schools went about raising teachers' expectations for students' performance. It is a companion piece to the 1993 monograph **Transforming Education for Young Adolescents**. Order from Education Resources Group, 15 Chambers Street, Princeton, NJ 08542. $12 for **Expecting the Best**, $8 for **Transforming Education**, or $15 for both.

The Guide to Math and Science Reform: Interactive Database and Print Reference, developed by *Toby Levine Communications* with funding from the Annenberg/CPB Math and Science Project, gives information on approximately 500 reform projects across the nation. The database helps users obtain information through a wide range of search criteria and easy-to-read abstracts. The program can be received free of charge and comes with a yearly update. For information on system requirements and to order, contact Toby Levine Communications, Inc., 7910 Woodmont Avenue, Suite 1304, Bethesda, MD 20814. Fax: 301-907-6916. E-mail: TLCI@access.digex.net.

Events

Building Alliances for Equity: Detracking Schools and Society, *the National Coalition of Education Activists' 1995 Conference*, is designed to help parents, teachers, and community activists build alliances and acquire skills needed to create more equitable schools. August 3 to 6, 1995, with Pre-Conference Institutes August 1 to 3, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA. For more information, contact NCEA, P.O. Box 679, Rhinebeck, NY 12572. 914-876-4580.

The Coalition of Essential Schools' **1995 Fall Forum** will be November 2 to 4, 1995, in New York City. This annual event brings together a diverse group of education stakeholders—teachers, parents, students, higher education faculty, school board members, and administrators—for an open discussion about the key issues facing all of us who are concerned with rethinking the assumptions and practices of schooling. For more information, call the Fall Forum Information Line: 401-863-9102.

Mail/Fax Form

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